

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7068

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 3154

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT PORG

EUBJ: INDONESIAN AND HUMAN RIGHTS

REF: -. JAKARTA 3114 B. JAKARTA A-27

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HABIB

1. SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH TRADE ACT, INTERNATIONAL LOAN
AND PL-480 QUESTIONS BEING RESOLVED, NEW PROBLEMS
DACE US IN DISAPPOINTING RQSULTS OF INDONESIAN NAVAL

VESSEL MISSION, POSSIBLE CUT IN FY-75 DL AND, MOST
SERIOUS OF ALL, DELAY IN DECISION ON MILITARY SALES
BECAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION. DEPARTMENT AWARE
MAJOR IMPORTANCE ATTACHED BY PRESIDENT SUHARTO TO SUCH
SALES AND LIKELY ADVERSE REACTION TO ANY SUSPENSION
OR UNDUE DELAY IN DECISION. WE ARE MAKING GOI OFFICIALS
AWARE OF CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. WE
UNDERSTAND DEPARTMENT'S DILEMNA BUT BELIEVE CASE BAN BE
MADE THAT INDONESIA DOES NOT FOLLOW CONSISTENT POLICY
OF GROSS VIOLATIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ALTHOUGH SPECIAL
PROBLEMS DO EXIST IN CASES OF INDIVIDUALS KNOWN IN
UNITED STATES. ON BALANCE, WE BELIEVE POSITIVE DECISION
ON INDONESIAN MILITARY SALES CONSISTENT WITH LEGISLATION
AND WITH WIDER NATIONAL INTERESTS DURING CRITICAL PERIOD
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. IF PLANS FOR AMBASSADOR'S US VISIT
IN APRIL MATERIALIZE, HE WOULD BE PREPARED MEET WITH
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CONGRESSMAN FRASER. END SUMMARY.

2. IN OUR CONTINUING EFFORTS MAINTAIN EQUILIBRIUM IN RELATIONS WITH INDONESIA, WE HAVE BENEFITED FROM PRESIDENT'S POSITIVE ACTION ON POLICY TOWARD LOANS, FROM PRESIDENT'S REMARKS ON TRADE ACT, AND FROM DECISION TO PROCEED WITH PL-480. WE ARE INDEBTED TO YOUR HELP FOR ALL OF THESE ACTIONS. SERIOUS PROBLEMS STILL CONFRONT US. REF A DESCRIBES DISAPPOINTING RESULTS OF INDONESIAN NAVAL VISIT. WORD HAS REACHED HERE THAT AVAILABLE LOAN FUNDS FOR FY75 MAY BE ONLY HALF (\$20 MILLION) OF FIGURE WE HAVE ALREADY PASSED TO INDONESIAN UNDER INSTRUCTIONS. MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM, HOWEVER, IS INDICATION WE HAVE HAD THAT DEPARTMENT MAY BE REVIEWING AND HOLDING UP MILITARY SALES TO INDONESIA BECAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS.

3. CADILLAC GAGE LOCAL REPRESENTATIVE RACHMAT INFORMED DLG CHIEF MARCH 12 THAT HE HAD EARLIER IN DAY RECEIVED TELEX FROM WARD OF CADILLAC GAGE IN MICHIGAN STATING THAT LETTER OF OFFER FOR 45 V-150S "BEING HELD UP AT STATE DEPARTMENT" AND "NO ONE KNOWS HOW LONG THEY WILL HOLD ONTO IT." TELEX ADDED IT WILL TAKE ONE MONTH FINALIZE PRESENTATION TO INDONESIANS FOLLOWING STATE APPROVAL. IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING (FROM WALKINSHAW) THAT THIS IS DIRECTLY RELATED HUMAN RIGHTS REVIEW.

4. WE FULLY APPRECIATE INTENSITY OF CONCERN IN CONGRESS OVER HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION. WE HAVE ENDEAVORED PROVIDE DEPARTMENT WITH FULLEST POSSIBLE INFORMATION TO MEET CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRIES. ON MARCH 15 I CONVEYED ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER AND MINISTER OF JUSTICE MOCHTAR LANGUAGE OF VARIOUS SECTIONS OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT RELATING TO HUMAN RIGHTS. INDONESIANS FULLY AWARE OF PROBLEM, BUT CLEARLY OUR INTERESTS WILL HAVE ONLY MARGINAL EFFECT ON DECISIONS THEY CONSIDER CLOSELY RELATED TO THEIR INTERNAL SECURITY.

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5. ANY DECISION TO HOLD UP MILITARY SALES OR TO DELAY DECISION FOR EXTENDED PERIOD WOULD HAVE SERIOUS REPERCUSSIONS HERE. PRESIDENT SUHARTO HAS PERSONALLY MENTIONED HIS INTEREST IN ARMORED CARS EQUIPED FOR DEPLOYMENT AGAINST ARMED INSURGENCY. INDONESIA DEPENDS VERY GREATLY ON SUPPLY FROM UNITED STATES AND DECISION TO SUSPEND ALL FURTHER SALES WOULD BE OF SO SERIOUS A NATURE I ASSUME IT WOULD BE MADE ONLY AT HIGHEST LEVELS. I BELIEVE WE SHOULD MAKE DECISION THAT INDONESIA DOES NOT FALL WITHIN LANGUAGE OF PERTINENT SECTIONS FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT. TO DO SO WOULD AVOID SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES TO OUR ACCESS AND TO ATMOSPHERE OUR TOTAL RELATIONS; TO DELAY DECISION IS UN FAIR TO GOI WHICH NEEDS TO MAKE EARLY PROCUREMENT DECISIONS.

6. WE BELIEVE CASE CAN BE MADE HONESTLY THAT INDONESIA DOES NOT PRACTICE CONSISTENT POLICY OF GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. ALL INCIDENTS OF CONCERN ARISE FROM EVENTS OF 1965 OF OF JANUARY 1974. INDONESIA PERMITTED LAST YEAR QUIET INSPECTION OF 1965 DETAINEE CAMPS BY MISSION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF RED CROSS AND ACCORDINGLY TO MINISTER OF JUSTICE MARCH 15, IS IMPLEMENTING RECOMMENDATIONS OF MISSION'S REPORT. AS OUR PREVIOUS REPORTING HAS INDICATED (RF B), INDONESIANS WELL AWARE OF PROBLEM BUT FACE SERIOUS INTERNAL DILEMMA IN DECIDING WHAT TO DO WITH THIS LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WITHOUT CREATING SECURITY PROBLEMS. MANY DETAINEES FROM
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JANUARY 1974 INCIDENT HAVE BEEN TRIED OR RELEASED.

7. SPECIAL PROBLEM EXISTS WITH RESPECT THREE PERSONS WELL KNOWN IN UNITED STATES: KOKO SUDJATMOKO, MOCHTAR LUBIS AND BUYUNG NASUTION. I HAVE DISCUSSED THESE CASES WITH SEVERAL HIGH LEVEL INDONESIANS AND CAN ONLY CONCLUDE THAT THERE ARE STRONG PERSONAL FEELINGS AND HISTORIC GRUDGES INVOLVED WHICH TRANSCEND ANY NATIONAL POLICY AND MAKE THESE PARTICULAR CASES REGRETABLELY EVEN LESS AMENDABLE TO OUTSIDE PRESSURES THAN OTHERS. IN CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR SUDJONO HUMARDANI LAST WEEK, FOR EXAMPLE, HE SPOKE WITH SPECIAL BITTERNESS ABOUT BOTH SUDJATMOKO AND LUBIS. WE MUST FACE FACT

THAT AT LEAST THE SUDJATMOKO AND LUBIS CASES RESULT TO SOME DEGREE FROM PERSONAL AMMOSITY OF KEY MILITARY FIGURES WHO RECALL PAST PUBLIC ATTACKS AND CHALLENGES FROM THESE MEN.

8. DILEMMA FACING US IS WHETHER IN CRITICAL TIME IN SOUTHEAST ASIA WE ARE GOING TO FURTHER COMPLICATE OUR RELATIONS WITH INDONESIA BY DELAYS OVER HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES OR ARE GOING TO FACE ISSUES SQUARELY BALANCING THEM AGAINST NATIONAL INTERSTS INVOLVED.

9. I KNOW DON FRAZER PERSONALLY AND IF PLANS TO RETURN TO US IN APRIL MATERIALIZE, I WOULD BE GLAD TO MEET WITH HIM FOR THOROUGH DISCUSSION INDONESIAN SITUATION. IN DISCUSSION SIMILAR ISSUES IN AFRICA I FOUND HIM REASONABLE AND UNDERSTANDING OF NATIONAL INTERESTS.

10. I APPRECIATE PROBLEM YOU FACE AND ALL EA HAS DONE FOR OUR POLICY. CONTINUED POSITIVE MOMENTUM, HOWEVER, REQUIRES EARLY RESOLUTION THIS HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION. I WOULD HOPE IT COULD BE RESOLVED AT LEAST AS FAR AS MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND SALES ARE CONCERNED BEFORE VISIT OF GENERAL BROWN APRIL 5-7.
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